THE Nation

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May 23, 1953
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Smoking And Lung Cancer

by Alton Ochsner

Budget versus Arms — *Bruce Catton*

Europe's Dark Suspicions — *J. A. del Vayo*

Central African Crisis — *Basil Davidson*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

A Philosopher Challenges Velde

Philadelphia

WHEN BARROWS DUNHAM, chairman of Temple University's Philosophy Department and author of "Man Against Myth," defied the Velde committee by refusing to testify beyond giving his name, residence, and date and place of birth, the struggle for academic freedom here took sharper form. The committee recommended a contempt citation. Robert L. Johnson, then president of Temple and now head of the beleaguered International Information Administration, declared that since Dunham's action "created a doubt" concerning his loyalty there was no course open under state law but to suspend him.

Many educators here insist that Johnson's action was "summary . . . exceeding the authority delegated by the law." Under Section 13 of the loyalty-oath law state-aided institutions—of which Temple is one—are required to certify annually that there is "no reason to believe any subversive persons are in their employ." Each institution sets up its own method of certification. At Temple it is done by department heads in reports to the president. Unless a school complies with Section 13, it receives no funds; some point to Temple's $5,000,000 grant from the state—about 20 per cent of its operating budget—as reason enough for its suspension of Dunham.

• Clark Byse, professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a foremost authority on the loyalty law, underscores the fact that at first the law's proponents wanted to require the oath not only of employees of the Commonwealth but also of employees of "any college or school which receives state aid." It was largely owing to vigorous action by Harold Stassen, George Wharton Pepper, and others that certification without oath-taking was substituted. In effect Section 13 was designed to provide the safeguards by which private schools, compromised in part by state funds, could keep political heretic hunters at arm's length.

One head of a private college has expressed concern that Temple's action might completely negate the delicately tooled provisions of Section 13. He concurs with the American Civil Liberties Union of Philadelphia, which points out that an employee can be judged "subversive" only through "a fair preponderance of evidence." The single instance of Dr. Dunham's use of the Fifth Amendment does not of itself determine his loyalty or disloyalty, the Civil Liberties group maintains. "Nothing in the act," it says flatly, "required the President to suspend Dr. Barrows Dunham." It should be noted that the Philadelphia A. C. L. U. fairly bristles with big names: former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, Clair Wilcox, and Earl G. Harrison are members of its executive board.

With an eye to the Dunham case, the university senate of the University of Pennsylvania has recently taken under consideration an exhaustive report by its Committee on Academic Privilege and Tenure suggesting that the senate "record its opposition" to Congressional investigations into schools and universities. The committee also declared that under the loyalty-oath law the isolated use of the Fifth Amendment does not provide ground for discharge or suspension.

Campus sentiment at Temple is overwhelmingly in favor of Dr. Dunham. Faculty colleagues with curious unorganized unanimity have refused to take over his classes, and impressive student and alumni groups have opened a campaign for his reinstatement. The local chapter of the American Association of University Professors has taken up the case. Its chairman, Dr. C. Irwin Griggs, reflected the general attitude of the faculty when he said, "Of course there are differences among us about the Dunham issues. Some feel strongly that he chose the wrong method. Others feel equally that he was merely exercising a basic constitutional guaranty. But no one is frightened. We have a very strong tradition of academic freedom here—we intend to maintain it." It was clear that Professor Griggs needed no directives from either Washington or Harrisburg about "subversives" in education.

To say that Dr. Dunham's action ignited a powerful chain reaction against the probe into education might be too optimistic. Nevertheless, the influential American Friends Service Committee has "taken serious note of the issue of academic freedom involved," according to Lewis Hoskins, its executive secretary, and the independent Teachers' Union honored the Temple professor with its annual award for "outstanding service to education."

• Certainly widespread disquiet was occasioned by the hearings. The ultra-conservative *Main Line Times* scathingly indicted the "witch-hunters" for their flat-footed sterility," echoing the very Republican Upper Darby *News*, the country's largest community weekly, in warning that the probers might well prove more "subversive" than those whom they pretend to uncover. Both the *Inquirer* and the *Evening Bulletin* expressed editorial misgivings about the investigations. There has been a striking absence of attacks on Dunham. While his action in Washington has been criticized privately, there has been no public hysteria about a "red" on the Temple campus.

It is possible that the unique position taken by Dunham in regard to the Fifth Amendment and the action of the Temple administration in invoking the loyalty-oath law may finally be brought into court. There is no denying the hostility of the community toward loyalty probers. A veteran columnist summed up the situation well when he remarked with typical candor, "Look, I don't know about Dunham, but I do know that Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy would have their work cut out for them up here. This is rough country. Outfits like Penn, Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr happen to be in a business where 'dangerous' ideas are common. Take it from me, they don't scare easily."

CHARLES ALLEN

[*Charles Allen, a free-lance Philadelphia journalist, was formerly on the staff of* The Nation.]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Voices of Reason

More than once British moderation and initiative have prevented extremists in this country from forcing the hand of the government. Mr. Attlee did it when President Truman's off-hand reference to his power to decide on the use of atomic weapons terrified the Western world. We believe the Prime Minister's speech and that of his Labor opponent mark another such occasion. As these lines are being written, the truce talks in Korea are in suspension, presumably to give the U. N. command time to get new instructions. Our allies clearly feel that the Chinese eight-point offer came well within negotiating distance of the position set in the Indian resolution adopted by the General Assembly—a resolution accepted by the United States and rejected by the Soviet bloc. At the same time the sentiment is growing in the West for action along the lines proposed by Sir Winston. As our foreign editor pointed out two weeks ago, in an article from Paris predicting the Prime Minister's initiative, much of Europe is pinning its hopes on Churchill's apparent determination to take advantage of Moscow's professed desire for a settlement.

What our allies want is a truce in Korea along the lines laid down in the U. N. resolution, strongly indorsed again by Premier Nehru, and talks among the heads of states on the broad issues under dispute between Russia and the West. By speaking when they did, Sir Winston and Mr. Attlee made these the prime objectives of international policy. Until they are at least honestly assayed, no plans that might get in their way are likely to be put into effect—either in Germany or in the Far East.

McCarthy Is Not America

We hope Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee will not be dismayed or swerved from their purpose by the storm their words stirred up in Congress. We hope they will realize that the demagogues who denounced them represent no more than an ill-informed minority of the American people—and even of the Republican Party. The power of these men comes from the noise they make—even when uttered in an all but empty Senate, their words are broadcast to the world—rather than from the size of their following. President Eisenhower's press-conference statement, although it took issue with Churchill on the idea of early top-level talks with the Russians, was as much a repudiation of McCarthy and Co. as a reiteration of Administration doubts and hesitations. And the rebukes administered by Senator Wiley, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and by Senator Smith of New Jersey, mild as they were in phrasing, revealed the embarrassment to which the party has been subjected by their colleagues' reckless attacks on the Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition.

The truth is, the Administration cannot afford to toe the McCarthy line on major foreign policy, however reluctant it may be to face a showdown with the plug-ugly right. It came to power on a pledge, actually a reckless pledge, to end the war in Korea. If the voters should become convinced that the President and his lieutenants were forfeiting the opportunity to make an honorable peace, they would lose little time in turning on the people they so lately put in office. That is the way Americans act, and it is because Mr. Eisenhower knows this that he stated so firmly—allowing his words to be quoted—that he knew nobody in America who wanted war.

This statement was, to put it politely, inexact; many important citizens, from General MacArthur down through the ranks of the China lobby, have openly advocated bombing Manchuria, blockading the China coast, helping Chiang Kai-shek to overthrow the Peking government—all acts of war. But it is a favorable sign that Mr. Eisenhower felt obliged to assure our allies and the world of the essential peacefulness of the Administration's intent—despite the McCarthyites.

Brain-Washing At Valley Forge

The Pentagon's utilization of "political psychiatric therapy" in the case of the twenty-odd P. O. W.s who were "secretly" flown from Tokyo to Valley Forge Army Hospital for medical and psychiatric treatment against the danger of possible Communist indoctrination seems to have been resented in about equal measure by the soldiers themselves and by the army doctors. "I don't know where this idea started," one army physician said, "but there's one thing for sure—we're not running a damned laundromat here." Another officer, who also

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requested that his name be withheld, said: "There has been a big foul-up somewhere along the line." Of this there can be little doubt. After announcing that the flight from Tokyo was being made "under a cloak of military secrecy" (May 2), the army censors permitted the story to go out to the nation's press the following day. Secrecy was essential, the army said, in order to preserve the anonymity of the men; yet on the following day the newspapers published a complete list of their names. Secrecy was also essential, the army said, because the men were tired and disturbed and should not be interviewed; yet on May 4 the newspapers published interviews with them "two by two," complete with photographs.

To make matters worse, leading psychiatrists attending the convention of the American Psychiatric Association in Los Angeles were quoted out of context in a manner that implied approval of the new therapy. Nothing could be farther from the truth. At off-the-record sessions condemnation of the army's handling of the entire matter was strongly expressed. "It is evident to any psychiatrist," to quote from one of several letters we received from delegates, "that this set of paradoxical circumstances makes no sense at all if the real aim was psychotherapeutic. . . . It makes sense only if we recognize that the real purpose was that of using the [affair] for political propaganda, and publicity purposes." A sorry episode, this, to be associated with the great name of Valley Forge.

British Borough Elections

Our London correspondent writes: The total Labor gain of 500 seats all over the country in last week's Borough Council elections has bucked up the party considerably. It reassures members that "coronation fever" has not changed voting loyalties and that the lassitude which has recently afflicted the party machine can be overcome in a conflict. The elections also showed that Labor and the Conservatives are very evenly balanced and that the decline of independents, Liberals, and Communists continues apace. The recent improvement in the Soviet attitude has not done the British Communists any good. They lost all their remaining seats in London's East End.

The results will probably dampen the enthusiasm of most Conservatives for a "snap election" soon after the coronation; its outcome would be too uncertain. Beyond that it is unwise to speculate; drawing national conclusions from local elections is a risky business. The turnout is only half that for national elections, and the shift in seats frequently follows a change in the character of an area rather than a shift in individual loyalties. For instance, the opening of a new housing estate for workers frequently brings a Labor majority into a previously Tory district.

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Shaking Up the Brass

There is no end of scuttlebutt about the new Chiefs of Staff, their personalities, connections, and biases. But the circumstances of the appointments strike us as being more significant than the choices themselves. It was unfortunate that the new men should have been named so long before the terms of the incumbents expired. But even if the selections had to be made now so that the incumbents could "ease" their successors into their jobs—and it has been suggested that General Bradley wanted them made now—the authority of the off-stage nominees will certainly overshadow that of the incumbents in the interval. But there can be little doubt that the President made the appointments at this time because Senator Taft and his cohorts were insisting that the military men who had advised President Truman could not be trusted to advise a Republican Administration. In yielding, the President has given the appearance of approval to the notion that the offices of the Chiefs of Staff are to be regarded as political patronage.

There is another interpretation, however, which can be placed on Eisenhower's action. It is generally agreed that in selecting Admiral Arthur W. Radford to succeed General Bradley the President was deferring to the judgment of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. Whatever his shortcomings may be, this much can be said of Mr. Wilson: he is not at all overawed by the top brass of the armed services. The Joint Chiefs dictated the policies of the Truman Administration, but Mr. Wilson is strongly inclined, by all accounts, to run his own show. "He and his assistants," reports *Business Week* (May 9), "will make the major policy decisions; the military men will carry them out." To the extent that this implies a cutting-down of the power of the military it is a good omen regardless of the merits of the new appointments. Nevertheless, many people will share our uneasiness that General Bradley, a wise and cautious man, has been succeeded by Admiral Radford, who helped father the idea of a naval blockade of China.

Mr. Samish of Samish Alley

On the same day (May 6) that Arthur H. Samish, long the master-lobbyist of the California legislature, posted $2,500 bail on a charge of income-tax evasion, the state legislature set aside a soundproof room in the handsome new capitol annex for the exclusive use and convenience of the "third estate." A public-address system will connect the room with the Assembly and Senate chambers so that the lobbyists may relax while the legislators are orating. For the record, we should like to note that it was an article in this journal (The Guy Who Gets Things Done, July 9, 1949) that first brought Mr. Samish to the attention of a national audience. Later Lester Velie induced the always affable and garrulous "Artie" to indulge in some amusing but indiscreet boasting—"I'm the governor of the legislature," he told Mr. Velie—for *Collier's*.

Those who know the legendary Mr. Samish will find it difficult to suppress a feeling of sympathy for this amusing and exuberant Californian who after two decades of wonderfully astute legal tight-rope walking has finally stubbed his toe and tripped on an indictment charging eight counts of income-tax evasion. But knowing Sacramento we doubt that Mr. Samish has lost any of his power there. At last report he had not abandoned his suite at the Hotel Senator, known as Samish Alley, to which so many legislators come for instructions.

Voices of Liberation

Local African leaders have decided to let the world know that the liberation movements there are not the exclusive handiwork of the Kremlin. Two big pan-African congresses will be held within the next few months. One is sponsored by the Inter-Territorial Conference of Central Africa; the other will meet under the auspices of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast. The agendas will include all subjects related to "the struggle against colonial rule and the growing threats of white domination." Basil Davidson's analysis of the Central African situation in this issue makes clear why such congresses are being held.

Inching Towards Unity

A political constitution for "Little Europe" was the main subject discussed by the Foreign Ministers of the six member states of the European Coal and Steel Community at a meeting in Paris last week. They agreed on the urgent need to unify Europe on the political level, since economic unification clearly offers only a partial solution of their problems. Animated by interparliamentary deliberations at Strasbourg, they are more than ever convinced that there must be a European Assembly elected directly by the people.

This is undoubtedly a step forward. On the other hand, the French Foreign Minister, M. Bidault, insisted that the plan for a constitution worked out at Strasbourg did not commit any government. The project will be re-examined and certainly revised at an intergovernmental conference to be held in Rome from June 12 to July 1. This group will report to the Council of the six Foreign Ministers meeting at The Hague on July 10. It is plain that the governments are taking their time.

Between its working sessions the Paris conference was absorbed by Churchill's speech, which aroused more interest than the Strasbourg project. It was reliably reported that Chancellor Adenauer, alone among his five colleagues, agreed with the Washington line of no early talks with the Russians. Having just completed a series

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of Machiavellian maneuvers designed to win Bundesrat support for ratification of the German treaty, he does not want negotiations with Moscow until West Germany has entered the Western community and obtained from it all possible benefits.

The other five Foreign Ministers are reported to be privately supporting Churchill. Were they not so badly in need of dollars, it is a good guess that they would at once accept "British guidance" in preference to "American leadership."

The Senate Sleeps

TIME was when the Senate of the United States, proud of its great traditions, jealous of its prerogatives, was properly regarded by the people as the principal guardian of their rights and liberties under the Constitution. Traditionally it has been the Senate, not the Supreme Court, which has held out against the vehement efforts of transient majorities to suppress the rights of unpopular minorities. The names of Borah, Norris, and La Follette, in our time, remind us of the Senate's role as the champion of constitutional freedoms. But of late years the Senate seems to have lost its taste for freedom. It has become, not corrupt or cynical, but drowsy and indifferent. The immediate danger, indeed, is that the Senate is becoming a body of sleep-walkers who, in casual dreamy fashion, may one day give away the liberties of the people along with their basic resources.

On May 9, for example, the Senate came within a hair's breadth of passing Senator McCarran's S. 16 which would permit either house of Congress, by majority vote, or any committee by two-thirds' vote, to grant immunity from prosecution to witnesses summoned before Congressional committees. Should the witness claim the privilege against self-incrimination when asked a possibly incriminating question, he could be compelled to answer on pain of contempt charges. If he did answer, however, he could not be prosecuted or subjected "to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing" concerning which he gave testimony, except possible perjury.

The bill would destroy the protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment, offering in exchange an essentially spurious immunity. For the witness, immunized against *federal* prosecution, might still be vulnerable to prosecution by the state. Moreover, he would have no protection at all against the social and economic penalties a hysteria-ridden society might choose to inflict on him.

Back in 1893, Congress enacted a statute of this kind which led to such serious abuses that it was finally repealed. "For the unscrupulous," as the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out in a recent editorial on the current bill, "it would be a temptation to connivance; for the vindictive it would be a temptation to bear witness as revenge." The measure represents still another attempt on the part of legislative committees to encroach on the judicial power. Law enforcement is a function of the courts, not of Congress. In short, here was a bill of major constitutional importance. How, then, did the Senate discharge its traditional role as the watch-dog of the people's liberties with regard to it?

Brought before the Senate on short notice, the bill had nevertheless been widely discussed for a year or more, and the dangers implicit in it and similar proposals were well known—they were discussed in The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion, by Leonard Boudin, in *The Nation* of September 29, 1951. Nevertheless, not only was the measure reported directly to the floor of the Senate by the Judiciary Committee without hearings, but it nearly passed without debate. Murrey Marder, writing in the Washington *Post,* notes that "no direct opposition" was voiced to the measure "despite some concern" expressed by three Senators over the haste with which Senator McCarran was attempting to slip the bill through the Senate. "Only six Senators in all," reports Mr. Marder, "spoke on the measure." Indeed the bill was "rolling to passage," with only a dozen Senators on the floor, when Senator Kefauver saved the day by calling attention to the absence of a quorum. It was then put over until the following Tuesday and has now been shelved for at least two weeks on the suggestion of Senator Taft, who is "somewhat dubious" about it.

IT IS A remarkable commentary on the alertness of the Senate liberals that the principal opposition should have been voiced by Senator Robert A. Taft and Senator Walter George. It is also remarkable that the principle editorial of the week in opposition to the measure should have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* (May 11). Thanks to this timely conservative intervention, with an assist from Senator Kefauver, the proposal may now be thoroughly debated, but the odds favor its enactment with minor modifications. The Attorney General, it is true, has said that he cannot recommend the bill in its present form, but he would probably favor one which vested in him rather than the legislature the power to cloak a witness with immunity.

It should be fairly obvious that the enactment of such a statute at this time, when Congressional committees refuse to acknowledge any limitations on their power to investigate and have almost succeeded in convincing the public that none exists, would be extremely dangerous; but an even greater danger may be found in the strange somnambulistic manner in which the Senate disposes of matters of this sort. Today if a bill can be presented to the Senate as having some possible relation to the "fight-communism campaign" it stands a good chance of passage without study, debate, or hearings. The Senate acts as if it were hypnotized by the charlatans in its midst.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Europe's Dark Suspicions

Paris

DOES the United States really want to negotiate? That is the question Europe's most serious observers are asking both privately and publicly. The question does not apply to Panmunjom; everybody expects a truce agreement and a cease-fire within a few weeks. It applies to a general negotiation aimed at putting an end to the cold war, and the doubt is expressed by persons and newspapers generally labeled conservative or moderate —papers like the London *Daily Mail, Le Monde* and *Figaro* of Paris; columnists and correspondents like Beuve-Méry, Raymond Aron, and Maurice Ferro, recently back from years of reporting in Washington.

Of course it is easy to ask the same question about Moscow. But since the Russians took the initiative in suggesting peace talks, the feeling here is that it is up to the West to test the genuineness of their overtures in the way diplomacy indicates—by sitting down with them at a conference table, not merely answering one speech with another speech and one pronouncement with another. That is why Churchill's proposal last week for such a conference—to be held at the highest possible level—aroused so warm a response on this side of the Atlantic.

In regard to the United States, answers to the key question vary widely. This is clearly a consequence of the fact that American psychological warfare is conducted in a way calculated to leave people over here continually perplexed. One day they hear President Eisenhower deliver a speech that inspires everybody with hope and even finds its way on to the front page of *Pravda.* The response is, "Of course the Americans want to negotiate." But a few days later they hear the President or his Secretary of State saying practically the opposite and the answer is "no." In between there may be an anxious "perhaps"—perhaps the Americans want to negotiate but are prisoners of everything they have been writing and saying for years, Republicans and Democrats alike; prisoners, too, of McCarthy and the other wild men and of a public opinion fed on predictions of imminent Soviet attack.

At the moment the answer is "no," —precipitated by Washington's rejection of Churchill's proposal for East-West talks as well as by the President's earlier message to Congress treating Chiang Kai-shek as one of the pillars of American policy in Asia. To the *Daily Mail* (May 6) both the strengthening of Chiang's forces in Formosa and the big increase in aid for France in Indo-China "would seem to rule out the possibility of eventual agreement with Chinese Communists on the mainland." The Administration accepts a truce in Korea because it was an electoral promise and at present there is no possibility of achieving decisive military victory, but it does not make peace with Peking, for it awaits the day when increased air and naval power will permit a tougher attitude without involving the dispatch to Korea of large American forces.

I do not quote *Le Monde,* so frequently cited in the American press and so widely criticized for its "neutralism," but turn rather to *Figaro* and Raymond Aron, ablest among the columnists of the right and usually close to the American position. Writes Aron (May 4):

> In theory the Western powers had the choice of three replies to the Soviet advances. The first was to take advantage of the apparent crisis caused by the death of Stalin and undertake more vigorous diplomatic action. The second was to meet the peace offensive not only with propaganda speeches but with proposals that would lead into negotiations over Southeast Asia and Germany. The third was to continue the political and military organization of Europe as if nothing had changed. They decided on the third. I think it is time to consider the second.

In his series of articles on "How to Deal with the Russian Initiatives," Raymond Aron does not modify his opinion of Moscow—his distrust, his permanent dislike. But he fully recognizes the danger of holding back, until the Russians decide to propose a full-dress, four-power conference. Molotov's reference to a five-power conference is not taken here too literally. It is accepted that he must continue to press for the inclusion of Communist China in any diplomatic talks, especially in view of Washington's pro-Formosa, anti-Peking attitude. But diplomats sense that a formal, official proposal from Moscow of four-power talks on Germany may follow closely upon a truce in Korea. And the impression is that the Russians may offer terms which go a long way toward meeting the conditions laid down by the Western Allies.

If that happens, what will be the position of those who were ready to negotiate an armistice, or peace, in Korea but not willing to extend the negotiations to the central issues that concern France and Great Britain most acutely? Is the United States stalling itself into just such a situation? This is the problem that is worrying those Europeans who, while opposing Russia and communism, retain a sense of diplomacy and realism.

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BUDGET VERSUS ARMS

Washington Merry-Go-Round . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE defense program is under pressure these days. Its source is a burning desire to balance the federal budget coupled with the belief that the country can get a reasonable degree of security even if it cuts expenditures for defense.

This has led to a little confusion. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has said that the budget cannot be balanced within the next two years without seriously jeopardizing national safety. Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey has replied that he thinks it can. Senator Robert A. Taft has remarked that he wished the Administration would make up its mind about things.

Mr. Wilson told a Congressional committee a few days ago that in paring down earlier defense programs the Pentagon authorities have set an "interim goal" of 120 wings for the air force, in place of the 143 wings previously sought. On the following day he told a press conference that defense planners do not now have hard-and-fast goals for airplanes or for other items. Meanwhile, the defense budget for the next fiscal year shapes up at some $5,000,000,000 under the Truman estimates, with a projected cut in actual spending of something like $2,300,000,000.

Beneath all this it is possible to detect some of the difficulties bound to be met by a big-business, economy-minded Administration which is obliged to cope with an extremely expensive and complicated rearmament program, one of whose salient features must be making due provision for an extreme emergency which may never actually arrive.

When the outbreak of the Korean war brought the defense program into being, it was decided not to embark on an all-out defense program but to build up to a level at which the country would be reasonably safe—and, that level attained, to broaden the production base so that if the worst happened production could rapidly be expanded to meet the requirements of total war. This purpose is now being modified in two ways. Though we have not yet reached the

Charles E. Wilson

"reasonably safe" level as it was originally calculated, the program is definitely being slowed up. The Defense Department now suspects that many of its original estimates were unrealistic. It wants to restudy them and see whether it can't all be done for less money. Secretary Wilson told the House Military Appropriations subcommittee that "by a careful review and balancing of our military effort" a good deal of progress could be made toward a balanced budget at a fairly early date, say, within two or three years.

What is really dismaying, however, is not that a balanced budget is being put ahead of "reasonable safety" but that the broadening of the production base is receiving less emphasis. On January 1 of this year the eighth quarterly report of the Director of Defense Mobilization stressed the importance of this part of the job. Production of the infinite number of items that go into military goods may rise high enough to meet current needs and still leave us poorly prepared for a real emergency. To prepare for that possibility, the report declared, it was necessary to budget at least half a billion dollars for broadening the base. The half-billion is still in the budget, but the money will be spent, Mr. Wilson assured the Congressional committee, only after a "very careful study" of the whole defense-mobilization plan.

Furthermore, high-cost producers are to be eliminated, which means concentration of defense orders in big concerns. Underlying this approach is the theory that reliance must be placed on the giant industrial producers, which can quickly convert to all-out war production. It is amusing to recall in this connection that twelve years ago, just after Pearl Harbor, the hottest single issue confronting industrial mobilizers in Washington was whether the automobile industry should be immediately converted to war production. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, now Defense Secretary, maintained that the automobile factories could not really be converted. The man who insisted they could be was none other than Walter Reuther, then the big wheel in the United Automobile Workers' union. The two had a six-hour debate on the subject in Detroit. Reuther challenged the late Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, to try dropping an aircraft-engine contract into an automobile factory. Patterson did it, and from then on the industry was in war work.

It was the manufacturers' reluctance to admit that they could be converted to war production, plus the reluctance of the Office of Production Management under William S. Knudsen to insist on such conversion, which finally blew the O. P. M. out of the water in January, 1942, and brought about an entirely new defense-production set-up. That, to be sure, is water over the dam. The trouble right now is that the bold Truman program for broadening the industrial base is quietly being shelved in favor of a "let the big boys do it" policy

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which may well result in immediate budgetary savings—and in nicer contracts for the industrial giants—but also in serious loss of time in getting into full war production if the need comes.

ANOTHER OBJECTION to the "new look" given to the defense program centers around the drive for economy. Government employees are being fired so that expenses can be cut. What is not realized is that most government workers never see an office in Washington: they are blue-collar workers, plying their trades for the armed services out in the field. A case in point is a $60,000,000 air base in the Middle West whose 18,000 employees were until recently mainly engaged in overhauling jet engines. The number of jet planes in service is constantly rising—but 3,000 of those workers have been laid off, and more lay-offs are in prospect. The planes will not get along without engine overhaul; the work is simply being farmed out to private firms. That shows the pattern. The work being done by civilians who work for the armed services in air bases, navy yards, or anywhere else will still have to be done. If those people are discharged, the work will have to be done on the outside. That will make it cost more, but government employment will be cut, and perhaps that is what really matters.

Somewhat similar is the drive now getting under way against the Bureau of Standards. When Secretary of Commerce Weeks made his ill-advised attempt to fire the bureau's director he was reminded that most of its work is high-powered research for the armed services. After he had pulled in his horns on the firing incident he wrote a letter to the Defense Department calling attention to the large number of research projects at the bureau and suggesting that perhaps the department would like to reexamine them with a view to reducing the number. The Defense Department replied that it would look into the matter at once. The research will go on, of course, but probably a lot of it will be done hereafter by private firms.

A third field in which the defense program begins to look a trifle odd is that of aluminum production. Output has been sharply increased under the defense program, but a further increase is necessary: the metal must be stockpiled for emergency use, and the civilian economy is crying for larger allotments. Unfortunately, the expansion program is colliding with the Administration's hard-money policy and with its refusal to continue the construction of public-power plants. Two of the smaller, newer producers in the field report they are unable to expand: the hard-money policy has raised interest rates, and they can't get the money on any acceptable terms. That seems to mean that the government must rely on the established giants in the field, which might be all right if they too did not need cheap electric power. The decision to knock out Hell's Canyon Dam may have been greeted with enthusiasm by big business in general, but it emphatically has not made the aluminum producers happy.

So the prospects for more aluminum right now are dim. This may make it somewhat easier to understand why the Defense Department is saying that its "interim goal" for the air force will stand at 120 instead of 143 wings. But it makes one wonder where the aluminum is going to come from for defense stockpiling and civilian use.

LUNG CANCER

The Case Against Smoking . . *by Alton Ochsner*

New Orleans

CASES of cancer of the lung are increasing more rapidly in men than cases of any other kind of cancer of the body. During the ten years from 1938 to 1948, deaths from cancer of the lung in the United States rose 144 per cent, from 6,732 to 16,450. Deaths from all types of cancer are increasing because cancer is primarily a disease of older people and with the greater average life expectancy more people are living to the age in which cancer is most prevalent. However, in the same ten-year period deaths from all types of cancer rose only 31 per cent, from 149,214 in 1938 to 295,594 in 1948. The number of deaths from cancer of the lung per one hundred thousand of population in the United States was 1.1 in 1920 and 11.3 in 1948. In 1920 cancer of the lung represented 1.1 per cent of all cancers; in 1930, 2.2 per cent; and in 1948, 8.3 per cent. It is believed that in 1970 cancer of the lung will represent 18 per cent of all cancers or almost 1 in 5. It affects men primarily; 90 per cent of our cases at the clinic have been men.

The tremendous and disproportionate increase in the incidence of lung cancer demands an explanation. One of the factors suspected of being responsible is the inhalation of noxious gases from exhaust fumes of automobiles and trucks, from gas works, and even from tarred roads. There is no evidence, however, of a higher incidence among people subjected to such inhalations. Doll and Hill found that cancer of the lung was no more frequent in people living near gas works than in others.

But there is a definite parallelism between the incidence of lung cancer and the size of cigarette sales in the United States. Although the population of the United States increased only 14.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950, cigarette consumption increased 107 per cent. The

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annual production of cigarettes per capita (including men, women, and children) increased from 46.3 in 1903 to 2,541 in 1948—the latter figure excludes those produced for foreign consumption.

MY COLLEAGUES and I are convinced that the products of cigarette smoking are responsible for lung cancers. It is well known that carcinogenic agents (cancer-producing substances) can cause cancer when applied to the surfaces of animal tissue and that the amount and duration of the application are related to the rapidity with which the cancer develops. The time relationship between cancer of the lung and cigarette smoking is approximately twenty years.

Cancer of the lung is rare in an individual who does not smoke. Wynder and Graham found that among 760 men with lung cancer only 1.4 per cent were non-smokers, as compared with 14.6 per cent among 780 controls without lung cancer. Doll and Hill found that among 1,357 men with lung cancer only 7 (0.5 per cent) were non-smokers, whereas in the control group 4.5 per cent were non-smokers; 25 per cent of the men with lung cancer had smoked twenty-five or more cigarettes a day, whereas in the control group only 13.4 per cent had smoked that many. It is frightening to speculate on the possible number of lung cancers that will develop as a result of the tremendous number of cigarettes smoked in the past two decades.

Doll and Hill found that the death rates from cancer of the lung increase with age and the amount smoked. "They pass from a negligible figure for male non-smokers aged twenty-five to forty-four to an order of 1 in 100 per year in men aged sixty-five to seventy who have smoked an average of twenty-five or more cigarettes a day for the preceding ten years." Doll and Hill also state that "at about the age of forty-five the risk of developing the disease [bronchogenic carcinoma] increases in simple proportion with the amount smoked, and it is approximately fifty times as great among those who smoke twenty-five or more cigarettes a day as among non-smokers." Schrek, Baker, Ballard, Dolgoff say: "The incidence of cigarette smoking and the incidence of cancer of the respiratory tract appear to be both statistically and biologically significant. There is strong circumstantial evidence that cigarette smoking is an etiologic factor in cancer of the respiratory tract."

Unfortunately many physicians, probably because they themselves smoke, are unwilling to admit that there is a causal relationship between smoking and cancer of the lung, in spite of the overwhelming statistical evidence. One of the arguments advanced by these doubting Thomases is that it has not been possible to produce cancer of the lung in animals subjected to cigarette smoke. But Roffo was able to produce cancer of the skin in rabbits when the skin was painted with tar obtained from tobacco. And recently, Graham—as he related in a personal communication—collected a tar-like substance from the residuum of cigarette smoking by a robot and was able to produce cancer in animals by applying this substance to epithelial surfaces over a relatively long period of time; 80 per cent of the animals so treated developed cancer. Essenberg has been able to produce cancer of the lung in mice by keeping them for long periods in an atmosphere of cigarette smoke. A control group was kept under identical conditions except for the cigarette smoke. In the animals subjected to cigarette smoke 91.3 per cent developed tumors of the lung, and in the control group only 59 per cent.

Undoubtedly, as emphasized by Doll and Hill, smoking is not the only cause of cancer of the lung, but it is in our opinion the most important cause, and it is the one cause that is readily controlled. Investigations by Levin *et al.*, Watson, Breslow, Mills, and Porter substantiate this view.

ALTHOUGH cancer of the lung occurs primarily in men, it is increasing in women. There is considerable doubt in our minds whether the increase will be as rapid in women as in men, even though women today are smoking as much as men. Men are apparently much more susceptible to the disease than are women. Recent surveys by the United States Public Health Service show the incidence of lung cancer rising sharply in many different localities. In Birmingham, for instance, between 1938 and 1948 it rose 189.4 per cent in both men and women; in women the figure was 72.4 per cent and in men 247 per cent. During the same period no other sites of cancerous involvement even approached this tremendous increase. The site of involvement with the next highest increase was cancer of the intestine—122 per cent in men, 45.5 per cent in women, and 71.9 per cent in both sexes.

We are so convinced of the causal relationship between cigarette smoking and cancer of the lung that we believe every man past forty years of age who has smoked ten years or longer should have an X-ray of his chest at least every six months and preferably every three months. Then if and when he develops a lung cancer, it may be possible to obtain a cure by removal of the affected lung.

Dangerous Tars

Washington, D. C.

Smoke from cigarettes but not from pipe tobacco or cigars yields tars which cause cancer, it was disclosed here [before a Congressional subcommittee]. "The chemicals which cause the cancer," testified Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, New York cancer authority, "are being extracted from the tar, and the identification is expected in the near future." When that has been done, he added, it may be possible to eliminate the "active ingredient" or devise methods "for neutralizing the cancer-producing effects."

A companion witness, Dr. Norman Topping, vice-president of the University of Pennsylvania, elaborated on the findings.—*Washington* Post.

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REPUBLIC OF LEARNING

Danger from Within . . . *by Scott Buchanan*

[*This is the third article of a series on the current threats to academic freedom prepared for* The Nation *by distinguished teachers and editors. Congress on the Campus by Alan Barth, in our issue of April 18, aroused widespread comment; Teacher as Rebel by Howard K. Beale was printed last week. Additional articles will appear in early issues.*

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IF WE want to summon the courage of our convictions, it may be useful to recall the basic document in academic freedom, Plato's account of Socrates's defense before a jury of the Athenian Republic. Socrates was under indictment for teaching atheism and corrupting the young, both defined by law as subversive of the state. The indictment had been brought by a self-appointed committee on un-Athenian activities in a time of war and chronic revolution. Socrates defended himself without benefit of lawyer, organization, or public demonstration, first by an ironic refutation of the specific charges and, second and more important, by a clear reasoned statement of the inalienable right and duty of every human being to question and teach his fellow-men. The statement was taken as confirming evidence of deliberate guilt, and he was accordingly condemned. When he was asked to propose an alternative to the death penalty, he suggested that he be publicly supported in continuing his function as gadfly of the body politic.

In effect the "Apology" was the preamble to the charter of the Platonic Academy which existed as an institution of learning throughout a thousand years of wars, revolutions, and empires. It still is the original of our schools, colleges, and universities. During one of its longest and most influential periods it was famous for training skeptics, and many of its students held high positions in departments of the Roman government. It made heavy contributions to the subversive doctrines of Christianity. This may be the time for refounding the Academy as the perpetual gadfly of the American body politic.

IN THE LAST few years I have many times recalled the trial of Socrates when I have tried to imagine what I would do before a Congressional committee or a grand jury. Part of the difficulty of such imagining is that the intellectual enterprise which Socrates originated has had such a long and honorable establishment under many academic charters; time's dulness and many compromises with circumstance have placed these institutions between a man and his government. In times of peace and comfortable academic life the charters seem to protect the individual in his intellectual pursuits, but at the time of trouble they seem to dissolve and to rob the individual of his independent judgment and will. This is a time of trouble and it promises to be long; at its start there is a deep failure of nerve in the academy. To me this failure of nerve within the academy is much more impressive than the attacks, indictments, and slanders from without. It is to be expected that in times of peace the citizen will not notice that the underlying truth is different from the superficial appearances in institutions and customs, and that a time of trouble will shock him into a quick judgment that the truth and the methods of discovery of the truth are subversive of his way of life. But for the scholar this should be the great occasion for public education, the time above all others when the teacher has the opportunity to bring aid to his fellow-citizens by bearing witness to the truth that can make men free, even by laying down his life if that is necessary. In the past there have been philosophers who drank hemlock, slaves who defied tyrants, martyrs burned at the stake, street fights between town and gown, manifestoes nailed to the doors of monasteries.

In 1947, when the Loyalty Order was issued in Washington, I naively anticipated an immediate and unanimous chorus of protest from all the academic establishments in the country and a rally of support and defense for colleagues on leaves of absence who for the first time in our history had been invited to bring scholarship and intelligence to bear on government and politics. Instead of this, individuals were abandoned to the wolves of investigation and the Loyalty Order was made the implicit fundamental law of every educational institution where it generated a spirit that was more vicious than the letter of the law. Inside the academic walls there has been the dull triviality of a uniform denial of the ideas as well as of the peoples that are on the march all over the world. These great days of history are being celebrated in the academies by silence and fear. The lamp of learning is burning low and suffocating itself. There is the smell of mass treason against the republic of learning.

IT IS NOT EASY to explain this academic default. It is not due to the barking dogs—Dies, Rankin, Mundt, Nixon, McCarthy, and McCarran—or to the little irresponsible minds that set the Loyalty Order as a counter-fire to stop a popular conflagration. These are externals that should have been taken as signals for the rallying of the academic community. I believe the explanation lies in the consideration of subtler and more pervasive developments within the academy itself. The academic man, for all his professional traits of critical observation, is a creature of private and social habits; and the community within which he acquires his habits, for all its appearance of democratic republican polity, is actually a tyranny heavily camouflaged with benevolence, a polity that systematically degrades and corrupts the processes of government by consent.

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The best that an officer of a college or university can do, whether he be president or department head, is to temper his tyranny with teaching, and the best that a student or teacher can do is to learn and teach the truth by rebellion

against tyrants; the usual practice is something less than the best. Some of the tyrant-subject relation is intrinsic to the learning process and the collaboration of youth with age, but most of it is due to the frustration of modern corporate life.

It is important to recognize that the present status of institutions of learning is that of a charitable corporation which was originally established as an integral part of the great corporation, the church. The truth that was sought and transmitted was The Truth, which drew to itself a deep and constant consent from the members of the corporate body. Indeed, the consent was so deep and pervasive that the institution could allow and encourage a very wide variety of dissent in teaching and learning, as was evident in the continuous and ubiquitous practice of dialectic and disputation. As the big truth faded and left the many little truths in its place, and as the little corporations broke loose from the big corporation, business men took the places of clergymen on the board of trustees, and freedom of conscience and imagination took the place of a great common consent. Business management of free intellectual enterprise became the pattern of academic government. The contract between teachers and boards of trustees concerning salary and teaching hours is about all that holds these corporate entities together.

I am not here raising the familiar unanswered questions concerning the fateful domination of schools by the church in the past or the pressures of the big business corporations on the little corporations of learning of the present, or yet the immanent control of the schools, colleges, and universities by big government. These questions belong with other questions that try to comprehend the many social, economic, and political revolutions providing together the subject matter of greatest academic concern, the Industrial Revolution. It is for a proper treatment of these questions that a new clarification and implementation of the principles of academic freedom are now imperative. For the present occasion I should like to put these questions aside for the purpose of paying special attention to the subtler and more immediate consideration—namely, the business management of the intellectual enterprise. It is this that has made our academies benevolent tyrannies, corrupted the processes of assent and dissent, and killed the spirit of academic freedom.

THE CHARITABLE corporation of learning, because its operation involves funding and investing large amounts of capital and the spending of large incomes, invites business men to sit on its board of directors. They in turn hire presidents, deans, registrars, and public-relations experts as managers, and these hire researchers and teachers, and treat donors, students, and students' parents as customers. Although the rules of the market are almost entirely irrelevant to the charitable corporation and the purposes of learning, the management, trustees and executives alike, imitates the business organization in directing the affairs of the academy. The raising, the husbanding, and the investment of funds and the marketing of the product determine the choice of teachers, the strategy of research, and the educational policy. For the most part the delicate problems of teaching and learning are subtly reduced, even by teacher and student, to questions of salesmanship, personnel management, and interpersonal relations. It is as if the board of directors and the financiers of a shipping firm were invited to engineer and navigate their ships.

There is a ceremonial show of delegation of powers from trustees to president, to executive officers, to department heads, to teachers in laboratory and classroom, and there is a semblance of representation in faculty committees and sometimes even on boards of trustees, although this is more often representation of successful alumni; but the decisions, when they are not dodged by everybody, are made by the board or by the president, whichever has raised more money. The benevolence of the tyranny is always to be measured by the degree to which the central government consults or responds to pressure groups, lobbies, or public opinion.

There are persons to whom the practices of academic freedom are vital. The processes by which assent and dissent, deliberation and persuasion, lead to agreement on the conditions of learning and teaching are matters of life and death in the intellectual enterprise. But there are no orderly ways by which the judgment and will of the teachers and students can be made effective. Academic politics and faculty meetings are notoriously trivial or violent. As in student governments, none but trivial decisions can be arrived at; the responsibility and the power reside elsewhere.

This is bad training and discipline for the citizens of the republic of learning; they have been well called the irresponsibles in our society. Not even the American Association of University Professors, imitating the techniques of the labor unions, negotiating for wages and job tenure, and restraining itself from adopting collective bargaining and the strike, can rally the courage of the academic proletariat. Battle by black list seems to be the last crude resort. The fact is that there are deeply planted and long-standing habits of acquiescence and compromise on all sides of what might be a continuous, significant, and useful conflict. These habits, taken together, amount to a silent conspiracy of mutual stultification within what is piously called the family of scholars. Everyone knows who the patricians are and who the pater familias is, and that they have little knowledge of and less care for the essential purpose of the professional community, which has consequently come to be concerned with the bare perpetuation of an institution that assures its members of security and livelihood of sorts.

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It is therefore not to be expected that a community so weak and inept at its own self-government will quickly learn to defend its existence and purpose from external threats in a time of trouble. In a group whose members have learned for so long to practice private intellectual enterprise for profit—not to say, stealthy indulgence in private interest and whim for the entertainment of student customers—common defense of learning and teaching will be an embarrassing sham. Compliance with the Loyalty Order, far beyond the call of duty, will be the easier way out. Therefore we may expect to see that faculties will approach external investigating committees with proposals that they set up their own inquisitions. They can be much sharper inquisitors, as the University of California has demonstrated.

The internal damage that benevolent tyranny has worked on our educational institutions in the last century is very great. In spite of the going concerns in science and technology that the laboratory represents, there is progressive deterioration in the practice of the intellectual arts. These could be revived if the academic government would support dialectic and deliberation and the decisions that would flow from them. But for this there must be a revival of the great tradition of dissent, the kind of dissent that no business management can tolerate.

WHOSE CONTINENT?

Central African Crisis . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

WHEN I was a boy I used to think of Africa, tropical Africa, the Africa of Livingstone and Stanley, as a green dark wilderness where naked blacks and other living creatures lay in wait for Christian gentlemen. Had not Nevinson written of the "loathsome darkness of the mangrove swamp"; did not the scattered bones of missionaries and lone adventurers prove that this was not only a dangerous continent but one that was evil and almost beyond saving? My picture of Africa was the familiar stereotype of Englishmen. Only in recent years has some notion of the reality penetrated the non-specialist mind.

Tales of that feckless and frightful scarecrow known to white settlers and administrators in Africa as the "African" may still be heard in clubs and bars up and down the continent. He has disappeared from serious conversation. Africans, we know now, are various, like their languages, capacities, looks, and degree of social organization. But with all this variety Africans have developed a common aspiration which bears a modern and forbidding name—nationalism. Holding the promise of bitter strife—in the measure that colonialism retards and frustrates the entry of African peoples into the modern world—this nationalism stands for freedom from oppression in the minds of many millions of men and women.

The knowledge that a different and a better life is possible is the essence of African nationalism. Determination to attain it varies in intensity from the boiling ferment of West Africa to the smoldering ashes beneath the paternalist autocracies of the Belgian and the French Congo. It erupts in the central and southern British territories through African congresses which are more or less embryonic nationalist parties. It is behind the disciplined and self-sacrificing campaign of non-violent resistance to racial laws in the Union of South Africa, the terrorist extremism in Kenya, the sober welding of African opinion in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and the massive drive toward self-government and full nationhood in West Africa.

Most African societies today are living through a crucial period, preparing to make the leap—in parts of West Africa already making it—from subjection toward independence. Imperialism has met the challenge by seeking new ways of prolonging and reinforcing white control. The British government's proposals for a federation of the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia are its solution for the problem in Central Africa. The situation here is different from that in West Africa. Climate and conditions of trade have kept white men out of West Africa. In the Central African territories—as in Kenya and Tanganyika in East Africa—whites have settled in slowly growing numbers since about 1890 and live there today as in their native country, believing that their children and their children's children will, and should, inherit their lands.

The proposed Federation of British Central Africa would contain fewer than 200,000 whites, outnumbered by Africans about thirty to one. The white settlers, mainly British and South African Dutch, have worked for it because they want full release from the control of the British government. And they want this because the British government is under certain well-defined obligations to the African peoples in the area. Neither Northern Rhodesia nor Nyasaland was conquered by arms: their chiefs accepted British protection in return for a clear pledge that African interests should remain paramount. In Southern Rhodesia the settlers provoked around the turn of

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the century a murderous war with the two principal tribes, the Matabeles and Mashona, and crushed their tribal power. Granted self-government in 1923, they have since trod the same racialist path as the whites of South Africa.

In the protectorates, by contrast, government has traditionally stood between the Africans and the settlers. The Africans grew accustomed to two kinds of whites—the settlers, whom they recognized as their enemies, and the government in London, to which they believed they could look for protection. A third group, the representatives of the mining interests and of the old British South Africa Company organized by Cecil Rhodes, generally identified itself with the home government.

IN 1949 A BIG CHANGE occurred. The colonial powers were multiplying their efforts to find new sources of raw material in these rich territories: Northern Rhodesia supplies, for example, a quarter of the world's copper. United States capital had entered the field. The need for absolute white control was urgent. The settlers' leader in Northern Rhodesia, Roy Welensky, first got himself elected to the Legislative Council on a program of expropriation of the mines and then, shrewdly, negotiated a deal with the mining companies. In return for an agreement that a substantial proportion of copper profits would remain in the territory to the account of the Northern Rhodesian government, the settlers would abandon all thought of expropriation.

With settlers and mining interests in close alliance and shouting for self-government, the imperial authorities prepared to comply. After being rejected for years, federation—a short cut to settlers' self-government—became practical politics. Since 1950 the British government has been working on a plan for federation and trying to persuade the Africans to accept it. The scheme was completed at a conference in London last January. Meanwhile African opposition has grown steadily.

It was in 1949, the date of the alliance of all white interests, that a conscious and determined African nationalism in these territories was born. African congresses have been formed in all three and have grown in influence until they now represent most Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and probably in Southern Rhodesia as well. (Since Africans in Southern Rhodesia are virtually without political rights, it is hard to know what they think, but all the signs indicate strong latent nationalism.)

The next few months will show whether or not the British government intends to go back on its pledges to the original inhabitants of the area. If it does, as now seems probable, the world will be called upon to watch one more ruthless struggle between "civilization" and a backward people striving to move forward. African nationalism in these territories is a healthy and constructive movement. Its leaders have made it clear that their goal is not black supremacy but multi-racial democracy attained by reasonable and gradual steps. Advocates of federation insist that white domination must be made permanent. It would be a rash man who would prophesy that African nationalism would not turn destructive if Africans saw every door to eventual equality slammed in their faces.

Americans cannot be indifferent to this situation. American mining interests today are powerful—perhaps all-powerful—in most of Central Africa, whether British, Belgian, or Portuguese. They are as much a part of the apparatus of imperialism as any of the heirs of Cecil Rhodes or the despoilers of the Congo basin. Is imperialism, too, to become part of American life?

LAND IN PERIL

Soil Program Slipping . . *by Hugh H. Bennett*

FROM the sidelines what is being done to the soil-conservation program looks disturbing. Only a few months ago it was making splendid progress. The Soil Conservation Service was furnishing the farmer-directed soil-conservation districts with technical assistance, free, and everywhere the arrangement was functioning well. Field workers helped farmers and ranchers to do the things they had not learned how to do themselves and won so much respect and cooperation from the farm operators that their transfer to another locality was often protested. Now it appears that the machine is not working smoothly and that the whole program will be slowed down.

Any let-up in soil conservation would amount to a national danger. Productive land is our basic resource, the supply is limited, and what we have is being cut into by still uncontrolled erosion and the construction of buildings, roads, and airfields. Fortunately, people are beginning to realize the danger and are demanding that our agricultural lands be protected. They see that with our rapidly increasing population, we must either safeguard what land we possess or have recourse to synthetic foods or strict birth control, neither of which promises much for the near future.

The progress we have already made in conserving soil and water convinces me that we can more than meet our domestic needs for food if we go ahead quickly and determinedly with the conservation job started nearly two decades ago. The safety of more than one-fourth of our farmland has already been secured—an achievement those of us who started the work never thought

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possible in our time. Continued progress will depend on keeping the work under the direction of capable and sympathetic scientists who will recognize the need for permanent conservation, the kind that cannot be bought at so much per acre or accomplished with palliatives, short cuts, or directives. Lasting conservation calls for scientific treatment of the land, adapted to the special character and needs of each area. The water-borne products of erosion cannot be economically dredged from river beds or coastal waters and redistributed over our fields.

Modern soil-conservation methods invariably increase per-acre yields. The production of some 800 farms in many parts of the country practicing modern soil conservation and keeping production accounts was found to average 36 per cent above that of the same number of farms on similar land where little or no conservation was practiced. This study was made several years ago. If it were made today it probably would reveal an increase in production of 50 per cent or more, since conservation practice usually gives optimum benefits several years after being started.

IT IS OF THE UTMOST importance to give protection to all land that needs it before it is too late. An adequate food supply is essential to national defense and a satisfactory standard of living. Erosion and use of land for non-agricultural purposes is taking out of production probably a million acres annually—twenty thousand fifty-acre farms. The erosion can be stopped, and much construction work can be directed to less productive land. What will actually be done depends on the demand of a well-informed public and on the efforts of the capable technicians serving the more than 2,400 soil-conservation districts in the country.

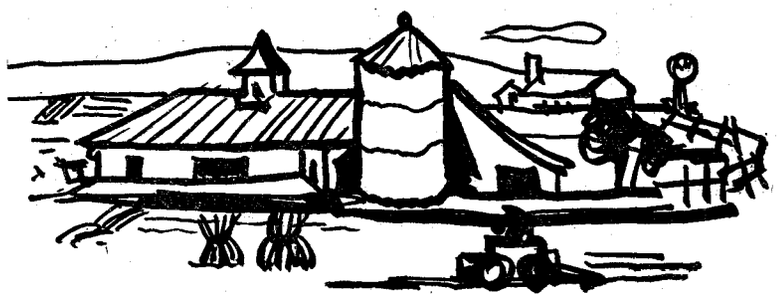
The Soil Conservation Service has proved its usefulness. Many conservation measures applied to the land twenty years ago are still holding satisfactorily. The districts have demonstrated their capacity to handle the job at the local level. The reported deterioration of morale among S. C. S. personnel must not be allowed to continue. It must be overcome at all levels of work wherever found, and replaced with the old spirit and push that accomplished so much under the original program. A directive issued by the Secretary of Agriculture in February, 1951, was supposed to streamline the department's complicated soil-conservation activities, but the situation still calls for improvement. Two big soil-conservation organizations in one department—the Agricultural Conservation Programs Branch and the Soil Conservation Service—are not needed and hinder understanding and cooperation.

One change which seems likely to prove harmful was the disruption of the S. C. S. research program, which for nearly two decades had helped find quick answers to problems encountered in the field work. This program was taken apart and portions of it turned over to an outside agency. My experience has been that an action agency like the Soil Conservation Service should conduct its own research. If it is handled by another office, particularly one primarily concerned with long-time research, the action agency may not get what it needs but what the other agency thinks it should have.

Another change started toward the end of the preceding Administration and carried over into the present one shouldered the S. C. S. with the work of the soil survey. I pointed out at the time that the addition of this unneeded responsibility could easily lead to overloading and confusion, and my fear seems to be borne out. The old soil survey was established fifty years ago for the primary purpose of classifying soils. This, of course, has a certain scientific value, but it has no great usefulness in soil conservation. The Soil Conservation Service has developed its own land-capability survey for the strictly utilitarian purpose of guiding the development of conservation plans for individual farms. Land is divided into eight broad categories according to its productivity potential. It is a quick and simple system of land evaluation that takes into consideration the general nature of the soil in the locality, the slope of the land, drainage conditions, present use, and adaptability for safe agricultural use. There is no more necessity for combining these distinctly different types of surveys than for combining both with the topographic survey of the United States Geological Survey, which also deals with the land but employs basically different methods and gathers facts for quite different purposes.

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Soil Conservation Service for the fiscal year 1952 shows that something has slowed the application of soil-conservation measures to the land, if I have properly interpreted the figures given. The 1952 accomplishment figures covering "conservation practices newly applied in soil-conservations districts with Soil Conservation Service assistance" add up to more than a million acres less than the total for the fiscal year 1950 (counting fifteen acres benefited per mile of terracing and diversions), although the appropriation for the regular soil-conservation work was five and a quarter million dollars more in the later period. This looks like less done for more money, with respect at least to area coverage, and that counts heavily in the soil-conservation program.

I am calling attention to these danger signals because of my continuing interest in the S. C. S. program. As long as there is any possibility of helping to keep soil conservation properly aligned I shall want to do what I can by flagging the plays that appear to be the wrong ones. I am aware that there is no point in doing this unless it is possible at the same time to indicate remedial action. My suggestion in this instance is to turn over to the S. C. S. all the soil-conservation work carried on at the federal level and to keep the agency completely free of politics and panaceas. This would be a practical solution of a problem that must be tackled without unnecessary delay. The people, I think are going to demand it.



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BOOKS

Moravia, Moralist

By Frances Keene

THE past twelve months have been eventful for the leading Italian novelist, Alberto Moravia, whose last work to appear in English in a fine new translation is his first novel, "Gli Indifferenti," written twenty-four years ago. In the space of a little over a year Moravia's works have been placed on the Papal Index, reprints of his books have been banned in Chicago, he has been invited to the United States by our cultural attaché in Rome, and he has been denied a visa by our State Department. It does not seem to matter that Chicago is not under direct Vatican jurisdiction, or that the cultural attaché is a part of the same State Department that denied the writer his visa.

Moravia visited this country in 1938 without, as I recall, visa trouble. He was a young author whose first work, the same "Indifferent Ones" now reissued as "Time of Indifference" (Farrar, Straus and Young), had given him meteoric prominence in Europe. In the crucial thirties Moravia's books and articles and short stories seemed without factious political overtones here, and for those who wanted to go into his background the varying allegiances of the critics who praised him would seem to bear out his own non-political attitude. Thus though in Italy he had been launched by G. A. Borgese, then leading critic for the *Corriere della Sera* and subsequently one of the most influential anti-Fascist voluntary exiles, he was shepherded on that trip to the United States by Giuseppe Prezzolini, whose acquiescence to the regime had been rewarded by the fat plum of an appointment as unofficial Fascist cultural attaché in New York, where for a generation he headed Columbia's Casa Italiana. On the face of it, you could not tell Moravia's political views by association, as is now the fashion. He was simply a good young writer on the way up. That he was personally much more than that has been amply attested by the years between, but we are talking of first impressions and of 1938.

Because of the stir "Gli Indifferenti" aroused in Europe, Putnam brought it out in an unfortunate rendering which caused American readers to mislay Moravia for almost fifteen years. However, the keen interest in Moravia's work felt by the late Professor Livingston of Columbia persuaded that gallant Italophile, despite his growing blindness, to dictate a translation of a long novel of Moravia's, known in English as "Wheel of Fortune." The novel was published by Viking in 1937 and, for different reasons, met substantially the same fate as had Putnam's "The Indifferent Ones."

NOW THE WAR, interrupting our close acquaintance with what was new in Continental letters, came to break the jinx. Since its close Moravia has really been introduced to this country for the first time, thanks largely to the sapient handling of his current publisher, John Farrar, who bought up Moravia titles and issued them in good translations in the order best calculated to advance the author on the American market.

The first published was "The Woman of Rome," an improbable first-person tale which purports to lay bare the life and hard times of a Roman tart; works which in Italian had preceded it were held back, among them "Agostino," which Farrar, Straus later issued here as part of the twin-story volume "Two Adolescents." Moravia's publisher was right: "The Woman of Rome," helped by the wave of post-war interest in Italian life, "got" the public.

Since then, Moravia novels have appeared regularly and enjoyed almost uniformly enthusiastic critical acclaim, plus at least two notable sales records. Sales have, of course, extended to the reprint editions of the books, and Moravia is now an American best-seller.

In seeking an explanation of State Department hysteria over Moravia, one would be hard put to establish any marked political alignment on his part. With the exception of his finest novel, "The Conformist," in which he masterfully portrays a type of man who lends himself to total identification with oligarchy, not one book is specifically polemical. And this same "Conformist" is somewhat counterbalanced, if you will, by "The Fancy Dress Party," a weak, verbose novel in an earlier vein in which Moravia's *opera buffa* dictator is relatively endearing. Thus you cannot make Moravia into a tract writer: he remains an increasingly good novelist with a vital interest in modern man's dilemma of survival amid pressures essentially alien to him. And his work has validity in that it is first felt with genuine profundity, then expressed with terse economy and elegance of design.

Moravia's emphasis on work rather than tract was publicly recognized last

Moravia

year when thirteen American writers of varying stature, but uniformly anti-totalitarian, protested in an open letter to the New York *Times* (July 30, 1952) against the invocation of the McCarran act to keep Moravia out of the United States. This letter pointed out that when, in 1950, the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan wanted to send Moravia to Moscow for a series of first-hand reports, "the Soviet Union [also] refused him a visa." Captious friends have remarked that had "The Conformist" been a less successful argument against bourgeois uniformity as a breeding ground for Fascism, and had Moravia trimmed his sails to the wind when asked if he "knew" any Communists, he would have graced many a speaker's platform here from coast to coast.

FRANCES KEENE lived in Italy for many years. She edited "Neither Liberty nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

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Whatever the truth of these speculations, the fact remains that church and state pressures on both sides of the Atlantic descended on the author with startling synchronization. And after much of the racket had died down, the fact remained that Moravia reprints felt the ax of the Gathings committee, which, as one commentator shrewdly observed, considers that "what is obscene at a quarter is not obscene at three bucks!"

Now it may be objected that there is no connection between the Papal Index, the Gathings committee's condemnation of "Woman of Rome" and "The Conformist" (along, of course, with a spate of other books), and the episode of the cultural attaché and the refused visa. If any instance of such a compounding of coincidence existed in relation to another author of like importance, one might be tempted to give greater weight to the objection. But establishment of a chain of command in censorship is almost impossible. What is important, however, is a clear understanding of those elements in the writer's work which all repressive forces, whether working singly or together, might take exception to.

CERTAINLY my own long familiarity with Moravia's work would lead me to emphasize his morality above everything else. By this I mean that in Moravia's world there is no fakery, no expedient bow to unshared orthodoxies, whether political or religious, *no attenuating circumstances*. In the highest, most personally responsible sense Moravia is a moralist. He does not preach, it is true, but his every book carries within it the dispassionate examination of man's flaws in relation to his possibilities. And though his grasp of motivations is clinically sound, he recognizes man as capable of aspiration, heartbreak, renunciation, selfless attachment. What Moravia says with ever-increasing effectiveness is that until man assesses the circumambient world and his own role in it, until he accepts responsibility for his execution of that role, he can know no peace, and his lot can become no more enviable than a sorry acceptance of the makeshift present.

Now this, more than political proselytizing, is dangerous fare on the open, or the paper-back, market. First, the in-

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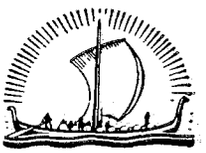

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RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDRÉ GIDE
by Roger Martin du Gard

THE VIKING PRESS, 18 East 48th Street, New York 17

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telligence characteristic of Moravia's protagonists, which makes them capable of continual self-analysis, is suspect—though the Vatican has but recently lifted the ban on psychoanalysis, the climate continues unfriendly. Second, the middle class, which is Moravia's scene, has never looked shabbier, no, not even in Flaubert. Third, the sacrosanct nature of the status quo is subject to continuous tacit attack. Fourth, self-honesty is the only reliable, indisputable virtue. The implicit exhortation to men and women to see their lives for what they are, their world for what it is, runs through every book from first to last. And the unquestioned genius of the man for creating characters of believable proportions, for placing them before problems of genuine impact in a three-dimensional world, makes his work very jarring indeed to those whose interest lies in maintaining an attitude of pliant acquiescence.

Since no political label will stick—for Moravia can easily establish the fact that he was no card-carrying Fascist or Communist—the next level of attack is obscenity and then, bolstering that, sacrilege.

Now "Time of Indifference" has come to swell the list of incisive novels in which Moravia exposes facets of middle-class life in all their gross vulgarity and meretricious hypocrisy. That this was an early book is not, as it happens, relevant: it can stand with his best as a work of power. But its republication will add to the unease with which the author is regarded in certain high places. Justice Brandeis once stated that "among free men the deterrents ordinarily to be applied to prevent crime are education and punishment for violations of the law, not abridgment of the rights of free speech"; and more recently—in 1951, after pressure by Catholic groups forced the New York Board of Regents to ban "The Miracle"—Justice Clark said that, in attempting to define sacrilege, "the censor is set adrift upon a boundless sea amid myriad conflicting views, with no charts but those provided by the most vocal and powerful orthodoxies."

What it all boils down to is how far can you go in criticizing criteria of behavior which are recognized as false but to which the vast majority give patient lip-service? In prosecuting such social studies as "Woman of Rome," "The Conformist," and "Conjugal Love," "all that is relied on," to quote Judge Bok, "is an indefinable fear for other people's moral standards—a fear that I regard as a democratic anomaly." A writer of the unquestioned stature of Moravia may well become a test case in the question of how far our fifth freedom, the freedom to criticize things as they are in this best of all possible worlds, has been threatened if not already curtailed in America.

New Books in Brief

Author and Translator

DOM CASMURRO. By Machado de Assis. Translated by Helen Caldwell. The Noonday Press. $3.50.

Machado de Assis, Brazilian satirist of the nineteenth century, was known in this country chiefly to students of Portuguese until last year, when his "Epitaph of a Small Winner" was translated. That book hid a penetrating irony and a pungent wit behind a deceptively mild style. The accompanying publicity suggested that it ranked as a minor masterpiece, whereas the great work was "Dom Casmurro." Now that the latter has been made available, readers may compare the two and make their own choice. From the point of view of plot "Dom Casmurro" is undoubtedly the more imposing achievement. It is a rounded novel of love and betrayal, a study of deceit in which he who tells the tale has been cuckolded by the woman he loved best and the friend he most trusted. Set in a quiet house in Rio de Janeiro, the story is fashioned with meticulous care for the crucial small details which prove in the end more important than the larger forces to which homage is customarily paid. Belief in the power of the small to destroy the large is the creed by which the author lived and wrote, and it holds the secret of his brilliance.

That creed and that brilliance are conveyed by the shaping of the word, the sentence, the paragraph to the author's intent. When "Dom Casmurro" left the author's hand, every nuance, every modeling and shading, was provided as its maker intended. But when the translator takes hold to clothe such subtlety in another language a new problem is posed. Will what comes out be a true English equivalent or merely a smudged replica of the main design? The translator of "Dom Casmurro" is Helen Caldwell, professor in the Classics Department of the University of California, and winner of a translation prize sponsored by three institutions, including the Pan American Union. The translator of "Epitaph for a Small Winner" was William Grossman, lawyer and economist, teaching in the field of transportation at New York University. For this reviewer, the professional loses out to the amateur: Dr. Grossman's English caught the mordant subtlety of the original; Miss Caldwell's missed the bite.

New Book from Tawney

THE ATTACK AND OTHER PAPERS. By R. H. Tawney. Harcourt Brace and Company. $4.50.

Although not a major work, this collection of essays and addresses is very welcome, for we have had no book from Professor Tawney for far too long a time. Its subject matter is varied. The title piece describes the author's experiences in the World War I battle in which he was seriously wounded. The others include an impressionistic but prophetic sketch of China in 1930, two discussions of Labor Party policy which are still apropos though written in 1934 and 1944, two essays on the Webbs full of illuminating personal touches, and two articles on Christianity and social problems that present a trenchant challenge to the churches.

These papers may perhaps be described as "occasional," but they have none of the anemia that word sometimes implies. Writing a robust and witty prose, drawing on rich stores of historical knowledge, Professor Tawney both informs and stimulates—in short, educates. The temptation to quote is irresistible, but one short passage must suffice. "It would be optimistic to say that, even today, a posture of deference to wealth and social position, and of kindly patronage to common men, is universally recognized by Christians to be the negation of Christianity which in fact it is. The statement that 'religion is

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the opiate of the people' is naturally resented. It is difficult to deny, however, that a good many Christians continue to behave as though it were precisely that which they think religion ought to be."

Reply to Fry

AN EXPERIENCE OF CRITICS by Christopher Fry and The Approach to Dramatic Criticism by Ivor Brown, W. A. Darlington, Alan Dent, Harold Hobson, Philip Hope-Wallace, Eric Keown, J. C. Trewin, and T. C. Worsley. Edited by Kaye Webb. Oxford. $2.25.

Eight British drama critics reply to complaints made by Christopher Fry at a dinner of their Circle. Mr. Fry's phrases are often witty, but their burden is familiar. Critics take too little pains to consider what the playwright is getting at. He needs encouragement rather than snubbing. Understanding praise is best, but praise of any kind would help. T. C. Worsley of the *New Statesman and Nation* makes the tartest reply. "What authors, actors, and producers want is praise . . . What, on the other hand, they *need*, whether they know it or not, is discrimination." Most of the others content themselves with the usual response: (1) They write for playgoers not for playwrights. (2) One man's opinion, not infallible judgment, is all they claim to deal in. (3) They do the best they can. Pleasant reading but not much new light on a very dark subject.

Dream of the Past

THE ECHOING GROVE. By Rosamond Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

An odd novel by the author of "Dusty Answer" and "Invitation to the Waltz," not a success and not a failure, despite the incomprehensible reviews it has received. The strained and tortuous relationship of two sisters, which is complicated by one sister's love affair with the other's husband, is told through a series of interrupted time-sequences and broken reveries. As in some of Virginia Woolf's novels, everybody is seen through somebody else's eyes; a type of abstractionism and relativity in the technique of the novel that can be very confusing. The background is a changing England from that Edwardian scene of security and affection—in which Miss Lehmann is more at home—to the social revolution of World War II, full of sturdy determination to compensate for a "lack of petrol." The total effect is that of an intricate and uncertain dream of the past, sometimes nostalgic and tender, at other times unpleasant and harsh when it isn't, as dreams can be, downright tedious. Probably Miss Lehmann's characters are not up to the level of her own insights in the novel. Or they are too old for her special capacity to deal with the tremors and anguishes of adolescence; one suspects that neither maturity nor modern society is her cup of tea.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH "Can-Can" (Shubert Theater) suffers from what is known in the trade as "book trouble," it provides a pleasant sight and, for me at any rate, an agreeable evening in the theater.

I am not so hard to please in musical comedy as some of my more sophisticated New York friends, who must have everything trim, tight, and as packed with stuff as a sausage is with meat. In fact, I am often inclined to shudder at the severity of our musical-comedy connoisseurs. They will not tolerate a dull moment, a sprawling scene, a muffed punch line, or the slightest decline in zest. (Tickets at musicals come as high as $7.20 a seat.) Still, many of these harsh judges looked favorably upon "Hazel Flagg," which I prefer to forget, and at "Paint Your Wagon," which, for the most part, weighed heavily on my patience. Perhaps they forgive all where there is plenty of noise.

In musical comedy I seek only a few good spots of sight and sound, an occasion to smile, and some pleasant people to watch. The purpose of the musical-comedy form is genial: how can one refrain from greeting it with cordiality? The spirit is what counts much more

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than the technique. When I like the approach, I like the show.

In "Can-Can" I particularly liked Michael Kidd's dance numbers, which by themselves were (almost) worth the price of admission. Kidd's talent is twinkling as well as energetic. No matter how strenuous the type of movement he may design, the effect has a friendly prankishness, a kind of benevolent teasing or good-natured and humorous mischievousness, always fundamentally delicate and light. In "Can-Can," moreover, the dancers he has chosen—beginning with the attractive and versatile Gwen Verdon—form a lovable and amazingly agile group.

Not enough attention, it seems to me, or enough tribute is paid to the brilliant training and natural gifts which are shown by the virtually anonymous young people who make the ensemble of our musical shows. No other country possesses such groups in its popular theater. In Europe these people would be regarded as artists; here, though they have far more craft background and prepare themselves with infinitely more hard work than most of our actors, they are more or less taken for granted as part of the new-fangled "chorus." Dance directors like Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins, Michael Kidd, and *their* teachers have made a real contribution to our theater not only through the dances they have staged but through the people they have discovered and helped develop.

Kidd has been delightfully abetted by Motley's costumes. Jo Mielziner's sets are nice—they have a kind of softness which suits a musical about old Montmartre; and on the stage floor itself there are, besides the aforementioned dancers, some good people. Lilo, the leading lady, has that racy quality of French gutter staunchness which is brazen without being offensive. She is, however, stronger in comedy than in sentiment. Hans Conried as a Bulgarian sculptor with an unpronounceable name has a sepulchrally striking mask which he contrives to make funny through a slyly comic nature, and there are at least two girls in lesser roles—tall Shelah Hackett and the dimpled redhead Jean Kraeme—whose good looks are extremely important in a show of this kind.

The fault with Abe Burrows's book is that his talent, which is essentially that of a loose-jointed, slapdash joshing, is not genuine in sentiment or sharp and sustained enough for real satire. That is why the semi-burlesque duel scene and a scene in which a killing notice is read to an artist are funny, while the main plot—something about censorship in Toulouse-Lautrec's day, which is not entirely sincere to begin with—is weak.

Cole Porter's songs are occasionally distinguished by a suave nostalgia, like warmed over memories of kinder and more gracious times and places, but some of them seem short of breath and invention, as if the musical impulse behind them failed before the notes were finished. (One of the songs—the second-act tenor solo "It's All Right with Me"—has a sweet feeling but does not make a complete impression because Peter Cookson, who performs a decent job throughout, does not possess sufficient freedom as a stage singer.)

Yet none of these reservations, though they may seem harsh in printed statement, matter much: the show is gratifying to one's tired bones. Certainly, I found it a warm send-off to my trip to Tel-Aviv, Paris, and London, from which I hope to speed my readers news of the theater.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

THE simple good sense of the Metropolitan's decision to produce Musorgsky's own "Boris Godunov" was so extraordinary, in the light of the work's history, that perhaps this alone is enough to be grateful for, and one shouldn't complain about the production's inadequacies and defects. Certainly if the choice were between this production and none I would choose this one even with its assembled odds and ends of scenery, Yannopoulos's ineffective staging, and Stiedry's ineffective conducting. But it would have been nice if the Metropolitan's good sense had extended to realizing that this first presentation of one of the great masterpieces of the operatic literature was more important than anything the Metropolitan had done in these last few years—more important than the new productions of already known works, more important possibly than even the presentation of Stravinsky's "The Rake's Progress"—and that it was "Boris" rather than "La Forza del Destino" that should have the scenery by Eugene Berman, "Boris" as well as "The Rake's Progress" that should have the first-class stage director and conductor.

In other respects the Metropolitan did well by the work. It commissioned Karol Rathaus to make a revision of the orchestration that would be a more effective realization of Musorgsky's sonorous image—with results that showed the need of further revision: the orchestra came over well at rehearsals in the empty auditorium and when I sat upstairs at

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the dress rehearsal, but not when I sat downstairs in the filled auditorium at the last performance. For the title role it used two superb singing actors, London and Siepi, of whom London had a fresher and more beautiful voice that was a little too light in color and weight, Siepi a darker and deeper voice that was more effective in the part. And the other singers were good, with two exceptions: Sigurd Bjoerling and Baccaloni, of whom Baccaloni produced the worse sounds, Bjoerling the worse-mangled English. As pronounced by London and the others the English words came through with remarkable clarity at the rehearsals and dress rehearsal and over the air; and heard without effort they were unobtrusive and acceptable. But Siepi's words, with his accent and in the filled auditorium, were difficult to understand; and when the effort to do so drew attention away from the music they became an annoying distraction.

And finally I should add about Stiedry that he produced excellent performances of Haydn symphonies with the New Friends of Music Orchestra years ago, and an excellent performance of Mozart's "Così Fan Tutte" at the Metropolitan, but that the effective pacing and cohesive tension of those performances have been lacking in his performances of Verdi and now of "Boris."

As for the HMV recording of the Rimsky version, when the original "Boris" was produced at Covent Garden a few years ago I wrote to HMV suggesting that it be recorded, and received one of those letters in which the writer assumes that he—or in this case she—is smart enough to contrive the evasions and nonsense in the letter but the reader is too stupid to see through them. That is, after all the recordings of complete operas HMV had done I was told that to record a complete opera was formidable to the point of impossibility. And in due time HMV recorded the complete "Boris" of Rimsky. It is sung in Russian by excellent soloists and a Russian chorus with the French National Radio Orchestra under Dobrowen's direction; and the defects in the performance are the many objectionable details of tempo and dynamics in Dobrowen's treatment of the work, and the vocal distortion Christoff resorts to in the last scene to differentiate between Boris and Pimen (he also sings Varlaam). The accompanying booklet gives a transliterated version of the Russian text and an English translation, both by Louis Biancoli.

Prokofiev's last symphony, his No. 7, was played by the Philadelphia Orchestra in New York; and everything in it—whether the few insipidly sweet tunes of the first and third movements, or the waltz of the second movement, or the characteristically lively and jocular finale—shocked one with its lack of vital impulse and energy. It was undoubtedly music written to please the simple-minded; but it was as undoubtedly music written by an enfeebled man.

Discovering in my program, before the concert, that the Prokofiev was to be followed by the Brahms Piano Concerto No. 2, I reflected on the miseries of being a member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra and having, year after year, to play Brahms, Brahms, and more Brahms. Then the concert began with Ormandy's transcription of Bach's D minor Toccata and Fugue for organ, and I appreciated the miseries of being a member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra and having to play Bach-Ormandy under Ormandy. It was the Stokowski style blown up to the point of caricature, with an added blatant, brassy vulgarity beyond belief; and if that is what this wonderful orchestra was made to do in England one can understand the comments there about American machine-tooled and chromium-plated performances, which it must have given some of our English cousins much satisfaction to be able to make.

Letters

Surgery the Only Cure

Dear Sirs: Congressional investigating committees of the un-American variety are a blot and a curse on the American scene, not because of their techniques, methods, or procedures, primarily, but by the mere fact of their existence. It is futile to wish that they would change their techniques. These reprehensible techniques are part and parcel of their reason for being and of the motives of the men who direct and serve on them. It is ridiculous to suggest that their procedure should be legal, for their entire purpose makes this impossible.

Every move made by these committees, from their creation to the present moment, has indicated that their purpose is to limit the thought and action of Americans, to force them to comply with standards set by the committees. No technical, methodological, or procedural change can make this purpose any less destructive of the basic prerequisites of political freedom.

One "unfriendly" witness, testifying before a session of the House Un-American Activities Committee in Los Angeles, remarked that the existence of the committee was illegal. Mr. Tavenner, the committee counsel, replied that the committee had been authorized by Congress. The witness's reply was that the committee had obviously succeeded in confusing Congress along with some of the rest of us. Whatever the merits of this retort . . . Mr. Tavenner seems to imply that authorization by Congress carries with it automatic constitutionality. This is a grave error. . . .

Justice Holmes, who enunciated the principle of "tolerance for the thought we hate," would turn over in his grave if he were aware of this colossal denial of all that he fought for in the framework of constitutional law and civil liberties. All of us had better turn over before we go to the graveyard of moral and intellectual idiocy being prescribed for us by the investigators.

Evanston, Ill. ROBERT R. HUME

Let Us Praise, Too

Dear Sirs: Every channel of public information daily provides ample material to merit our condemnation. But let us also be vigilant in watching for items which are praiseworthy. For example:

1. Senator Flanders of Vermont, in a speech referring to the recent Siberian plane incident, charged the U. S. Air Force with conducting psychological warfare on the people.

2. Headline: "Closing of Negro College Suggested to Delaware." (Recommendation of a committee set up by Governor Boggs.)

3. The Very Reverend James A. Pike, Cathedral of St. John the Divine, declined an invitation to preach the bac-

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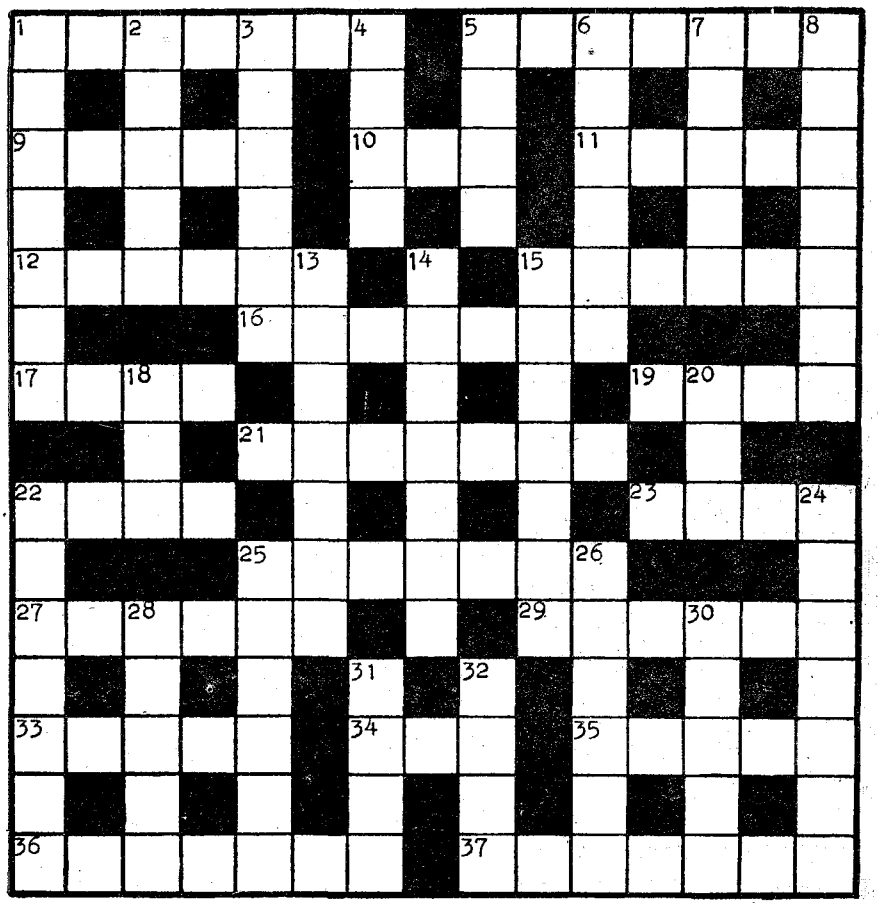
Crossword Puzzle No. 516

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9. On your feet they shouldn't be exactly monotonous. (3-4, 5)
5 See 10 across. 9 See 1 across.
10, 5 across, 20, 29. Implying a late example of sausage, by the sound of it. (3, 5, 2, 3, 2, 4)
11 See 5 down.
12 Stands for all but the first of well-known poppers. (6)
15 37 might be reading this. (7)
16 Moral? Find it and others around.
17 and 31 down. Is she a fellow-traveler? (4, 4)
19 Cyclops was one. (4)
21 Popular information, certainly not of the high rolling country. (3-4)
22 See 18 down.
23 Check her out of 13. (4)
25 Common in both April and June. (7)
27 See 18 down. 29 See 10 across.
33 It's an ill sorted arrangement, everything included. (2, 3)
34 35, not of a different name. (5)
35 A foil to the character of rustic chivalry. (5)
36 No definite time in May does. (7)
37 It's probably flat, like all feet! (7)

DOWN

1 See 18 down.
2 Winds carry the air along. (5)
3 See 32 down. 4 See 14 down.
5 and 11 across. Makes the note sharp? These won't! (9)
6 One of those Schopenhauer said are always sociable. (6)
7 There isn't a questionable sound in the try-out, but there's something fishy about it. (5)
8 Asparagus might be, but most other food shouldn't be at table. (7)
13 She's found about an uprising of a leftish movement in poetry. (7)
14 and 4. Where to sit at recess? (6, 5)
15 "Mat" is about the sort of word to apply to alyssum. (7)
18, 27, 22 across, 1 down. Is a retirement plan introduced thus? (3, 1, 3, 2, 4, 2, 5)
20 See 10 across.
22 This side is a bad line-up for anything but tellers! (7)
24 French novelist-dramatist overpowers one, and returns therein (7)
25 Created an expression which could result in your getting misled. (6)
26 Found on the music rack, but not as a new arrangement. (6)
28 Limb appended to the gentleman of 6, 34, and 35. (5)
30 Refuse to be not as bad as it sounds.
31 See 17 across.
32 and 3. This should spell out the title. (4, 2, 4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 515

ACROSS:—1 ALTERCATES; 10 MAHOMET; 11 GLOTTIS; 12 IRONCLAD; 13 IDEAL; 15 OVERT; 17 ARMATURES; 19 HELVETIAN; 21 EMBER; 23 ARENA; 24 ROOM RENT; 27 DRAFTED; 28 OLD MAID; 29 FADE.

DOWN:—1 ARMS; 2 TO HORSE; 3 RAMON; 4 ANTALKALI; 5 EDGED; 7 OUTWEAR; 8 DISCLOSURE; 9, 30, 6, 18, 14, 16 NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE PARTY; 20 LEEWARD; 22 BANDANA; 24 RADII; 25 RADIO; 26 IDOL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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calaureate sermon and receive a D.D. degree from the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, because of its segregation policy.

4. Headline: "Biddle Urges U. S. to Sift McCarthy Acts" (with an uncompromisingly scathing bill of particulars).

5. Headline: "Lehman Denounces Dulles' Opposition to Genocide Pact."

Common decency and justice demand that the "good companions" shall not be left to feel that they stand alone.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

Self-Criticism

Dear Sirs: Briefly, I would like to say amen to the little causerie by authors in the book section of the May 2 issue. They all seemed to be rubbing their eyes, amazed that anyone should care what they thought.

Between the lines, and sometimes explicitly, what cries out is a lack of criticism. There is nothing wrong with American literature that wouldn't be cured by a more cohesive group consciousness.

This self-criticism is the first step toward creating a fruitful criticism which speaks from the same base as the writers. Only this will break down the walls of the cubicles and coteries.

New York E. H. RUSSELL

Hats Off to Haggin!

Dear Sirs: I've read *The Nation* for almost fifteen years, and it is therefore apparent that I enjoy it. During this time, of course, I've read Mr. Haggin's weekly music columns, and I think it's time I write a note of appreciation to you for his reviews. . . . I think his greatest value is his refusal to compromise with mediocrity, and I'm hopeful and sure that he will continue to use his high standards of judgment.

My thanks to you for *The Nation* in general and for Mr. Haggin in particular. CATHERINE WATKINS

Los Angeles

The Good Fight

Dear Sirs: Just a word of commendation for your persistent opposition to censorship, McCarthyism, race hatred, and other forms of insanity prevalent in the United States today. Your comments on The Voice of America were especially apropos. IRA D. CARDIFF

Yakima, Wash.

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